until all the insects are swimming around on the top. Then he scoops them up with his hands, squeezes out the water and dries them over the fire until the edible ones can be separated from the rest. The pure "Hottentot rice," "!gibes, obtained in this manner, has already been slightly roasted while drying over the fire and is usually eaten without anything added. 222 252

I have often seen the insects eaten alive while being collected. While the old man fishes out the insects from the dark muddy water, the children squat around and put in their mouths anything that is crawling about. I found the animals without taste when eaten alive but when roasted they taste very good.

One dish, that cannot be depended upon every year, but which is very hearty when offered, is migratory locusts. Wherever a swarm has landed, it covers the ground and loads (!ga/e) the bushes by the thousands. Therefore the Hottentot calls the insects that sit on the branches "!ga/e-hu/ms. Among these, the females loaded with eggs, "!kũ/i-hu/mti, are the most in demand. When they have retired to their nocturnal quarters after the day's work, which consists of egg-laying, and hang massed together on the branches, the Hottentot sets fire to the bush. It flares up all over. The next morning the ashes are swept up with branches, gathered up in skins and spread out on large flat rocks. The insects with eggs are sorted out. The others are only collected if there are not enough of the ones with eggs. The collected insects are put in sacks and brought to the huts on oxen. [262] 222.

[192] There the mass is spread out, women sit in a circle around it and pulverize it with stones. When it is prepared, the soft light-brown mass is loaded into skin sacks and stored. When stirred up with milk it is supposed to be better tasting than when raw. 252 [262]

Although a swarm of locusts is a terrible plague, often destroying pasture lands, still locust burning time is a festival, at least for the young people. When the area of the locust plague is far away, the young people are released from the watchfulness of the old people, who stay home near the huts, and they now enjoy unrestrained freedom, particularly in the sexual sense. 786 731 [836]

The superabundance of food allows communistic principles, always a living force among the Hottentots, to be practiced without restrictions. A person who has gathered locusts may not prevent another from eating them. Even a gesture of refusal is despised. Whoever violates of this custom, will, according to their belief, be punished by becoming sick from the locust meal. However bestial a meal of 262 576 [753] 262

is contained in the jumping legs of the grasshopper. A girl who is supposed to be alienated from her lover is asked -- as often happens without harm in daily life -- to pulverize a heap of dried buchu herbs. A grasshopper leg has been secretly crumbled up between the leaves. When the girl has finished and rubs her hands that are dusty from the buchu powder in her armpits as is customary to get them clean, she unknowingly rubs in that magic potion that kills her love. In other cases the grasshopper's legs are packed deep down in the bone pipe. The pipe then makes the usual rounds and when it has been ascertained that the loving pair got some of the leg pieces to smoke, then the magic is considered a success. I also knew a case where the parents of the girl consulted a professional magician, who smeared a little stick with the contents of his poison box (see Medicine, page 226), broke the stick and threw the pieces away with the words: "ǂâ/gu hã̄ kxoēra gye nī /go/ra," i.e. "the two who love each other are to separate."

Before the whites became a dominant factor and destroyed the old customs, love outside of marriage was punished. Old Hottentots, who observe with misgivings present day actions, have told me that on numerous occasions, independently of each other. The guilty ones were either both thrashed with the approval of the parents or the girl's share of the punishment was transferred to the boy. The punishment was carried out at the direction of the sub-captain; in other words it was an act of public morality.

The parents of the young man undertake the wooing. Etiquette requires a rejection of the offer, much discussing back and forth and finally acceding to the request. The man is not supposed to think that they were waiting for him.

The wedding is celebrated with much slaughtering. The bridegroom or his parents must supply the festival roast (cf. folk tale XXXIV). But sometimes both families participate in the wedding slaughter, ǂgū/ǂâs. Poor people sometimes trade their only milch cow for one that can be slaughtered in order to fulfill their wedding obligations.

On the wedding day the young man and the young woman each give their respective mothers-in-law a cow, abago/mas, in remembrance of the time when they carried the boy or girl as a baby in aba skin (see below). And because they nursed them at the breast, that wedding cow is also called ǂamago/mas. The term kxā/go/mas, [299] which I heard more rarely, means that something is returned (= kxā/) to the mothers to which they are entitled. The present is supposed to compensate the mothers for the loss of their children.

In bringing up she children I have only observed ordinary punishments for obvious misbehavior or foolishness. Formerly education also extended into late boyhood or young manhood (83), but today it is mostly left to

83. See 88. 88. J. Olpp, Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-khoin (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena, Bd. VI, 1887).

the young people themselves (see page 309). The power of the parents in training their children has declined since the whites have become dominant. Where formerly the son, /gõ·ab, as long as he was only half-grown, was dependent chiefly on his father for his support and therefore also felt morally dependent on him, today he can make himself independent at an early age in the service of whites. The daughter, /gõ·as, who was formerly dependent on her parents until she married, can support herself with her charms and even get all the little luxuries she desires.

But in spite of the shattering of the parents' power over the raising of the children, the prestige of the parents in the family has still been preserved. That is clearest in advanced age. The grandparents are not forced by anyone in the family to work and each person has the obligation to be of service to them. That old and helpless people are exposed, as one occasionally hears claimed in the country, is a fable in my belief or is confused with the emergency customs of the Bushmen. For such a treatment of aged people is a direct contradiction of the viewpoint of the people as reflected most clearly in the sagas and tales. The address ti //nao/b or ti //nao/oss, i.e. "my grandfather" or "my grandmother" is used also as an expression of great respect for people who have no relationship whatever to the speaker. The folk tale no. XXIV gives us a picture of the domestic duties of a child.

The terms for father and mother vary, depending on whose parents the words refer to. A child always addresses its father with ti·dãb or dã·tse, and its mother with ti ais or aise: my father! my mother! The expressions dãda·b and mama·s are probably borrowed from Cape Dutch.

[301] The Hottentot feels it as a coarse malapropism that the children of the Namib Bushmen address their parents sao/b and sao/os. For these designations are reserved for the case when one is speaking of parents of someone whom one addresses as "thou", whereas one is addressing a child or an old man: sa sao/b, thy father etc.

with the strap next to the drawing rope etc. They seem less interested in the wonderful sight of 24 grasshoppers yoked together than they are in imitating as well as they can the customs of the adults. 857 524

In their games, in spite of all the childish activity in any particular one, there is often much that has an educational value. The boys do not always band together just for brief games and then scatter; they often organize themselves together for a year or longer. They elect a chief, a captain, who chooses his lieutenant; as all older boys do, these two choose younger ones as personal servants. Punishment for disobedience, a tribute of tobacco or food, is not merely playful; it is often quite serious for a boy who has to earn his own keep. The captain has to abstain from using physical force. He delegates one of his group to carry out any punishment that he considers necessary. The adults allow their boys to be judged by their contemporaries and thereby strengthen the system of the self-education of youth. 857 561

Because of the early sexual maturity of this race, it is not surprising that the boys often have sexual intercourse before they have outgrown childish games. In one case the boy had to pay the chief a tribute. In another case the captain even decided arguments in love affairs. He took a girl away from one boy and gave her to another and thus overstepped the bounds of childish play. 836 857

When there are no clashes with other groups to satisfy their belligerent feelings, war games are sometimes arranged. If, for example, [310] one of the cattle guards has found a thorn bush with wasp nests, then the group arms itself with sling shots which they make out of a piece of skin and two straps. They take their stand about 20 paces from the tree. It is now the duty of the lieutenant to climb up the tree and to break a piece of the nest loose and bring it to the captain. It is no easy test of courage for the boy, clothed only in a leather apron, to approach the angry swarm. Once he has completed this task, the band begins the bombardment of the nests. In the case that I remember the boys did not succeed in destroying the nests. As a punishment on that evening they were not allowed to drink milk from their goats which their parents or masters had turned over to them for their needs. 85 526

Outwardly, the //abi game imitates the military customs of the adults only symbolically. In the imagination, however, they are clearly visible. A thorn from the giraffe acacia or the thorn tree is placed on a thin stick that is slightly longer than a finger. This arrowlike toy is chasped between the fingers as the illustration shows and flipped forward and down by withdrawing the thumb, sending it into a pile of reeds as long as a finger. These are in the open or covered with sand so that they will not scatter when the thorn

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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has caused the old native brews to fall into general disuse, except perhaps in case of illness. The Naman also sometimes still make a kind of mead out of wild honey. The honey is diluted with water, and then brewed with the help of various roots or fleshy stems, e.g. *Pachypodium namaquensis*, so as to produce fermentation. European alcoholic liquors, however, find far too ready a market amongst them now, and excessive drinking is by no means unusual, especially among the detribalized people.

Tobacco, which they did not cultivate themselves, the Hottentots soon learned to appreciate when it was introduced amongst them by the Bantu and by Europeans. It has now come to be almost indispensable to them. Practically all men and women, and even the children, make use of it. Occasionally it is chewed, but far more generally it is smoked. The men often make their own pipes out of serpentine, which they cut with a knife into hollow tubes shaped somewhat like a cigar; or else they use the marrow bone of a medium-sized mammal. The mouth edge of the pipe is thickly stuffed with grass, so as to prevent the ashes of the tobacco from being swallowed; and in company the pipe is passed round from person to person, each taking several deep inhalations to the fullest capacity of his lungs before passing it on to his neighbour. Dagga[2] was formerly also used to a considerable extent, and indeed, according to Kolb, the smoking of dagga was a frequent, even an essential, accompaniment to some of the ceremonies. Nowadays it is much less easy to obtain, for owing to its definitely injurious effects when taken in excessive quantities its cultivation and sale have been restricted by the Government. The Cape Hottentots used to smoke it in horn water-pipes similar to those of the Cape Bushmen.[1]

Sexual Life and Marriage

Extra-Marital Sexual Relations

The sexual life of the Hottentots is no longer so strictly regulated as it seems to have been in the old days. There is now apparently great freedom of intercourse tolerated before and also practised after marriage. Formerly premarital unchastity was severely condemned among the Naman, and even penalized. A girl who had gone wrong was thrashed by her parents, or with their consent, in the presence of her lover, who then received a similar punishment. These beatings were administered under the direction of the head

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 104-5; Albrecht, loc. cit.; Schultze, op. cit., 204, 248.

[2] [Either Indian hemp, or one of two relatively non-toxic herbs, leonotis leonurus or L. ocrata. — Ayal Kok]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama

836 of the camp, and thus received the stamp of publicity and recognized usage.[1] Nowadays the restrictions on premarital intercourse are more loosely observed, and the lovers are apparently not punished. [864] Schultze even goes so far as to say that boys and girls often have sexual intercourse while they are still playing children's games, and no special notice of this is taken by their elders.[2] 848 Should pregnancy follow, however, the father of the child is expected to marry the mother. Even if he does not do so, he is responsible for the sustenance of the child while it is being weaned, and has to provide the mother [684] with some cattle or money for this purpose. If he refuses, he is taken before the tribal council and compelled to do so, and may even be flogged. The payments cease when the child has been weaned. It then belongs to the father, and may be taken away by him. Premarital children are said to have the same rights of inheritance from their father as those born in wedlock.[3]

684 Rape is severely penalized. If the victim is a child, the violator, according to Wandres, suffers the death penalty; if she is a virgin, or even a girl who had previously been deflowered, he is thrashed and all his property confiscated; while if she is a married woman her husband has the right to kill him without fear of retaliation. 684 Incest, between either parents and children, brother and sister, or 835 even the children of brothers and sisters ("Geschwister") is punished by death.[4]

572 The occurrence of homosexuality among the Hottentots is denied 838 by both Wandres and Fritsch.[5] Kurt Falk, however, maintains that it is fairly common, among both men and women, and especially among young married women.[6] There exists among the Naman a

[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 298, 319; cf. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 332.
[2] Op. cit., 309.
[3] Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 348; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 669; Vedder, "The Nama," 144, 145.
[582] [4] Loc. cit. Intercourse between direct cousins, here said to be treated as incest, is now apparently no longer condemned, as at the present time they may even marry; while marriage between cross-cousins, also included by Wandres under his definition of incest, was always permitted. Kolb (op. cit., 73) also affirms that incest, by which he means especially intercourse [773] between parents and children, is punished by death; while Hahn, commenting upon the myth relating how the hero-god Heitsi-Eibib committed incest with his mother, says: "The laws and customs of the Namaquas are against incest in any form. In the last thirty years only three cases, and those among the so-called Orlam tribes, have happened. Here, certainly, we have the fact of the contact with civilized races having proved fatal to the morals of the Aborigines. When these cases happened there was throughout Great Namaqualand a general outcry against the criminals; they were punished most severely, thrown out of society, and a gloom cast over the whole tribe to which they belonged" (*Tsuni-||Goam*, 135).
[5] Wandres, loc. cit.; Fritsch, in F. Karsch-Haack, *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker* (1911), p. 133.
[6] "Homosexualität bei den Eingeborenen in Südwest-Afrika," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, xiii (1925–6), 209–10.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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arms, afterwards dripping on to them a certain local herb mixed with freshly-cooked sweet milk. These healers, male or female, can be recognized by the numerous roots, trinkets and other odds and ends which they have about their necks[79]). 757

Punishments of Theft.

Hottentots who go wrong by stealing trinkets or trifles from their fellows are, if caught, beaten with a stick by their king or *choeque* himself, and not punished more severely. But if they steal on a larger scale, for instance by removing at night the valuable coral beads from the necks and ears of their sleeping companions, they are, when the theft is discovered and brought home to them, made to suffer a much heavier penalty. So, too, those who steal cattle or sheep from one and trade them to another receive the same punishment as is meted out for the theft of beads. The culprit, bound hand and foot, is first left a whole day without food or drink. The following day some of the elders go to the *choeque* and ask if the law should be carried out (which is done without any condemnation or sentence, but not without proof, although nothing is recorded on paper). Thereupon the king, with a large following of men who though not armed accompany him as bodyguards, appears close to a tree, where he orders the culprit to be brought before him. The latter is then tied to the tree, and thrashed pretty severely all over the back, so that the blood streams down his body on to the ground. Immediately afterwards he is fastened the other way about, facing the king, and a certain kind of hot gum or resin, melted in a pot, is poured over his naked body from the throat down to the heart, so that his skin at once falls away and hangs down in strips. Then he is again released and given some food. His hands and legs are now again bound together, and he is left for three days without any food at all. Finally, after enduring all these sufferings, he is sometimes banished as well and expelled from the village, so that he must live like a slave to someone else. 685

When people are caught in illicit intercourse, they are both whipped (if not related by blood), and let off with this punishment. But if the parents of two such lovers find that they are of similar status in rank and wealth, then they are permitted to marry each other. In case this does not take place, they wait to see if the girl becomes pregnant. [684] 836

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[79]) For a fuller account of Hottentot medical practices, see Ten Rhyne and Grevenbroek, pp. 149, 241 below.

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Once she is pregnant, the marriage must be hastened on, no matter how bad a person the lover is, in order to restore the honour of the girl; for it is a great scandal there to have an illegitimate child, although sometimes it does actually occur. 836 [848]

INCEST.

Should anybody, however rich or poor he may be, commit incest, be it a son with his mother, a brother with his sister, a father with his daughter, or any other pair of relatives, they regard this as extremely serious indeed, and hold that these two people cannot be punished too severely. According to them it is an unforgivable offence, although they are not aware that any sin has been committed, or that God (whom they do not know) has been angered; only they have the inborn knowledge that a great wrong and evil has here been done. The offenders are killed in the following manner:— 684

The man, his hands and feet all drawn together and knotted fast, is first plunged into a pit, and the woman also put there. On the following day he is taken out, still fastened up, and put under a tree. He is tied by the neck to a strong branch, which some men pull and hold down. His bonds are then slackened, and his limbs cut off one by one; until the body, after enduring so many tortures, is completely dead and no longer looks human. Then they let the branch fly up again into the air with the truncated body attached to it, to remain hanging there as a sign and warning to other evildoers.

After the man has been done to death in this way, the woman is also taken out of the pit, her hands and feet tied fast to one another. She is placed inside a well-arranged circle of many dry bushes, and there burned to ashes. From this can be deduced that these blind heathen yet know that such mortal offences must be punished to the utmost, even although no veneration can be observed amongst them save to a certain *'s Humma*, as will be related below.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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the war. The chance of living in peace and quiet, and the freedom to extend our dominion, were secured for us.[102])

In the early days of the Colony the natives thought that our men who lived next to them could vomit fire. They stood by in amazement, while on the discharge of our guns they saw the largest wild animal, a lion, or an elephant, laid low by one leaden bullet as if struck by lightning. Our cavalry likewise they regarded as so many Centaurs, half horses half men; at the sight of them they began to shake; and they held their strength in such awe that any native wife or maid would prostitute herself to them, hoping, like a second Thalestra, to conceive an Alexander; the woman's husband perhaps would urge her to it, and she would be all the more ready because firmly convinced that the virtue of the sire would be implanted in any child conceived from one of our men. Poor woman! All because she had never heard of powder and shot.

In order to foster these illusions one of our fellows gave a native a dish to be filled with water from the streams near by. Meantime he took a second dish like the first, overflowing with strong spirits of wine, and hid it in his tent. The native returned bringing the bowl of water, which our man took and put secretly beside the concealed dish. He then summoned the natives to attend with their witch-doctors. They all came at once, and were asked whether they could cause to break into flame the water fetched by the native from the stream and contained in the dish. They confessed their inability, alleging that nobody could do it. Then our wily fellow produced the bowl of spirits of wine, called for a light, and cunningly applied the match to the spirits of wine. When the natives saw the burst of flame, they thought he had set the water on fire; suspecting no deceit, they fled in all directions, some through shame, but all in fear. So is the trickster tricked[103]).

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happened during the journey to Namaqualand. He describes it as follows: "Un jour qu'il estoit campé sur une petite hauteur, les Outentos qui l'accompagnoient, lui dirent qu'il alloit mourir, et qu'ils voyoient venir à lui les deux plus grand sorciers du pais. En effet, deux hommes habillez bizarrement, suivis d'une centaine d'autres, s'approchoient gravement: mais il les prévint, et leur fit dire qu'il estoit plus grand sorcier qu'eux; et pour le leur prover, il fit apporter devant eux un verre d'eau-de-vie, y mit le feu, et l'avala toute enflammée. Les pauvres sorciers se jetterent à genoux, reconnurent son pouvoir supérieur, et se retirent" (*Journal du Voyage de Siam*, reprint 1930, p. 276). There is no mention at all of this incident in the official records of the journey, but some such story must have been current in the Cape about 1685, forming the source upon which both G. and de Choisy drew their respective accounts.